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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1711

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

POLISH-GDR RECONCILIATION ACTIONS--April in Poland is the "Month of National Remembrance." Our friends from the "Sign of Penance Action" in the GDR decided to join in that month's observances and that is why also in cooperation with the directors of the Museum in Majdanek as well as the Polish Center for Culture and Information in [East] Berlin, they organized the "Anti-War" exhibit. The cooperation of "Aktion Suehnezeichen" with the Museum in Majdanek has been in effect for several years already because camping had been organized there for youth. Just as at Majdanek, the attendees at these camps worked also in Oswiecim [Auschwitz] as well as on the construction of the [Catholic] church in Nowa Huta and the Children's Health Center. Instruction camps have been held in Berlin for several years now with the participation of Polish youth also. The camp participants work on tidying up the Jewish cemetery. Last year, in all the "Sign of Penance Action" camps the 40th anniversary of the so-called crystal night was observed. On occasion of the election of John Paul II, the representatives of "Aktion Suehnezeichen" sent a letter to him to which they received a sincere reply. [Text] [Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 6, Jun 79 p 84]

CSO: 2600

## JOURNALIST SPECULATES ON VASIL VALO'S SUCCESSOR

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 2 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Wolfgang Oberleitner: "Army With Leadership Problems--Who Will Become CSSR Defense Minister?"]

[Text] A few days ago in Prague, Col Gen Vasil Valo, Czechoslovak first deputy minister of defense, was buried with military honors. He had died suddenly at the age of 58. Born in the Soviet Union, he joined the Czechoslovak army established there during the war, later was active in military intelligence and was a protege of Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Grechko. His big opponent in Prague, however, was President Ludvik Svoboda, who while he was in office prevented Valo from being named defense minister because, like no one else, he knew about his dubious past. Only after Svoboda had been replaced did Valo advance to the position of first deputy to the present minister of defense, Martin Dzur, who has just celebrated his 60th birthday.

Dzur, who was appointed by party head Dubcek, has been in office for 10 years and has long been due for replacement; he has had several heart attacks and is hardly equal to the new demands posed by the progressing technological modernization of the army. After all, he was only a driver during World War II, then quartermaster and for a time deputy minister of supply. In recent times, the business of the Ministry of Defense in Prague, for all intents and purposes, had been conducted by Valo. Party head Gustav Husak therefore realizes that a decision will soon have to be made on what to do now. Doubtless he also talked about this during his latest meeting with Brezhnev in the Crimea, with a view to submitting a decision to the party Presidium in the fall.

The obvious successor of Dzur probably is Lt Gen Karel Rusov, since Valo's death the sole first deputy defense minister and also holding the posts of chief of the General Staff and secretary of the State Council of Defense. He comes from a worker's family and also has army leadership credentials, but the Soviets are not likely to give their approval, because they do not think they can depend on him when it comes down to it. The record of the



session of the Prague Presidium of Parliament on the day after the Soviet invasion in August 1968 (which has reached the West) clearly reveals Rusov's attitude. Even in the past his opponents have reproached him for having made such remarks as "They solve everything by force, without any discussion" or "Surely one does not need 6,000 tanks to teach socialism," and these utterances are sure not to have been forgotten in Moscow to this day.

The party therefore concentrated at first on an "uncompromised" man, General Horacek, and tried to build him up as defense minister--for which post he had the needed qualifications in that he was, after all, the head of the "Main Political Administration" of the army, and thus the top "politruk." But he disappointed his patrons. Rather than prepare for his task, he abandoned himself to life's pleasures. This finished his career, and in 1977 he was shunted to the civilian "Svazarm," the association for cooperation with the army.

Thus good advice is now hard to come by. Perhaps one will resort to the commanding general of the 1st Army, Lieutenant General Vesely, or even to the chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant General Remek, whose son is the first Czechoslovak cosmonaut. However, the greatest prospects as regards political reliability probably are enjoyed by Samuel Kodaj. He was ordained at the Lenin Academy in Moscow as early as 1950 and since 1961 has commanded the eastern military district of the CSSR, also proving himself there in the critical days of the intervention. And since he is a Slovak to boot, he can also be sure of the blessings of fellow Slovak Husak.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GSFG PILOTS REPORTED ON ALERT DURING GDR PEOPLE'S CHAMBER SESSION

Bonn DIE WELT in German 5 Jul 79 p 1

[Report by C. Graf Brockdorff, from Brussels: "Just Like On the Day the Wall Was Built: Pilot Alert"]

[Text] NATO observers have followed with interest the secret command post exercise (Stabsrahmenuebung) held by Soviet forces in the GDR, in Poland, and in the western military districts of the USSR. The exercise was personally supervised by the commander-in-chief of Warsaw Pact troops, Soviet marshal Kulikov.

In and of itself it is not unusual for the Soviet armed forces to test out their command structure in a command post exercise using only a limited number of "qualified troops" (Volltruppen). As far as this exercise--the culmination of which occurred last week--was concerned, however, Western observers have indeed taken notice of some unusual elements, and not without some concern.

First to be noticed was that one focal point of exercise activity was set for the day on which the GDR People's Chamber in East Berlin decided that its 66 members from East Berlin would henceforth be selected by direct election. According to authoritative NATO circles, this may have been a coincidence.

One was reminded, however, of the fact that this People's Chamber resolution, which surely could not have been made without the consent of the Soviet Union, had been considered in the West as the most serious violation of the city's four-power status since the building of the Wall in 1961. Coincidence or not, at that time flight regiment pilots of the Soviet 16th front-line air army in the GDR were ordered into cockpit readiness at their planes, i.e., the highest state of alarm. This state of cockpit readiness was also in effect during the construction of the Wall in 1961.

In an assessment of the situation Western observers in Brussels did not rule out the fact that Moscow, unnoticed by the public, may have had a military demonstration against Berlin in mind, even though no immediate reason for this was apparent. Perhaps, they maintain, Moscow was thinking of possible conflicts of interest in future, and of its preparedness to use armed forces to produce political pressure if necessary.

An unusual aspect of the command post exercise, in which only about 10,000 "qualified troops" had participated in performing certain activities, was that an "extremely high state of alarm" was in effect; this even included medical units.

Observers in Brussels also believe that they have determined the focal point of the exercise: the placing of emphasis to an "unusual extent"--as they put it--on the degree of preparedness for the utilization of nuclear and chemical weapons (nerve gas). They conclude that the Soviets had called upon all the contingencies of their command and control structure in this field in order to conduct war procedures as realistically as possible.

In dealing with information concerning Warsaw Pact armed forces, Western sources are tight-lipped to the public, because they do not wish to reveal the extent of their knowledge to the other side. For this reason, another aspect of the maneuvers was only mentioned in rough outline. According to this version the Soviet army had tried out "special operational tactics" for the first time. Further details on this were withheld. During the exercise three prohibited zones in the area north and south of Berlin were set up; through which even vehicles of the American, British, and French military missions in Potsdam were not permitted to travel. This had already been the case during previous exercises. NATO interest is increasingly being focused on the western military districts of the USSR, where some of the Soviet army's most powerful major units are stationed. The western military districts participated in the exercise, as did the Soviet divisions stationed in Poland. During the exercise the attention of the Soviets in the western military districts was obviously especially directed to the 11th Guards army in Koenigsberg, whose tank units can be loaded onto flat cars for quick transport. All five of the armies stationed in the GDR were also roped into participating in the exercise. Each of these five armies is composed of several divisions, each with 11,000-14,000 men (depending on division type). Thus, for example, the Soviet First Guards army, with its headquarters in Dresden, has its divisions in Wittenberg, the city of Luther, (6th Guards-tank division), in Dessau-Koosslau (7th Guards-tank division), in Riesa (9th Guards-tank division), in Dresden-Klotzsche (11th Guards-tank division), and in Halle (27th motorized Guards-infantry division).

CSO: 2300

WORKERS MILITIA UNITS SEEN AS FACTOR IN MBFR TALKS

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 28, 6 Jul 79 p 4

[Article by Peter Meier-Bergfeld: "GDR Workers Militia: The Stone-gray Soldiers--SED Militia Not to Be Underestimated--SED Workers Militia Units to Be Completely Omitted From Any Troop Reduction Agreement"]

[Text] On 29 September 1978, 10,000 armed men marched through East Berlin, in the steel helmets of the National People's Army (NVA), with Kalashnikov assault rifles before their chests, and with the emblem of the Red Front Combat League (Rotfrontkaempferbund), founded in 1924,--a carbine with a red banner attached to it, held aloft by a fist--on their stone-gray uniforms. They were marching along with cannon, field artillery, and mortars, and paraded while mounted on armored personnel carriers and armored transport vehicles.

These are not regular units of the National People's Army, however, but battalions of the "Militia of the Workers Class" (Kampfgruppen--KG--der Arbeiterklasse)--the GDR militia--demonstrating their "high degree of combat readiness" (Erich Honecker) in celebration of their 25 years of existence. The fact that the GDR, in addition to its People's Army of approximately 190,000 (1.13 percent of the population; cf. the FRG Bundeswehr of 490,000 at 0.82 percent of the population), also maintains a militia of about 450,000--estimates vary between 250,000 and 500,000--men and women (as radio operators and medical corps personnel) constantly gives Western military experts cause for alarm.

Last week the FRG Bundestag debated a CDU-CSU Bundestag group proposal calling upon the FRG Government to renew NATO discussions on the military significance of the militia units in the GDR in the scope of MBFR, and to work towards practical consequences for the West's negotiating position in Vienna. The proposal, which was referred to the committees, was formulated in restrained language; even the disarmament expert of the "hyphenated Bundestag group", Alois Mertes, signed it, knowing full well that the inclusion of the militia units into the Vienna discussions on troop reduction is difficult enough as it is.



Nevertheless, the military value of the KG for the National People's Army (NVA) and the other Warsaw Pact armed forces must not be underestimated, particularly because the militia units have been participating in Warsaw Pact maneuvers since the "Comradeship-in-Arms" fall maneuvers of 1970. Little is known among the general public in the West about the historical development, structure, and function of the KG. According to GDR pronouncements they are "direct armed organs of the working class," divided into groups of 100 (three such groups form a light battalion), and are administratively subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, and politically subordinate to the SED General Secretary, Erich Honecker. In fact, the militia units did not first originate in 1953 as the 25th anniversary celebration in 1978 would indicate, but were already existing in the second half of 1952 as "Betriebskampfgruppen" (enterprise militia units). After the "counterrevolutionary putsch," i.e., after the national uprising on 17 June 1953, they were expanded on a large scale.

#### Young Reservists

Present Western estimates indicate the proportion of party members at 70-88 percent. In 1956, after the Hungarian revolt, the SED Central Committee formulated the goal of having the workers' militia "fulfill their tasks in coordination with the German People's Police and if necessary, with units of the NVA." During the construction of the Wall in 1961, the militia provided the largest percentage of the guard units; since 1974 the SED, and Honecker himself is the driving force in this, has been strengthening the training, equipment, and armaments of the workers militia. Since that time not only production plants, but also administrative units, and even research institutes have been combed for mobilizable comrades. Formally, of course, service is voluntary, but every able-bodied SED member is expected to present himself for the basic training to become a "Fighter of the Workers Class," taking place over 16 weekends for a total of 132 hours.

In that they largely consist of younger NVA reservists the KG assume a special military significance. These reservists have already completed their 18 months of military training, after which, as KG members, they are required to brush up their knowledge and abilities every four to ten weeks until their 60th birthday.

The functions of the KG were originally limited to suppressing strikes and protecting installations. Now they can be used for air defense, guerilla warfare, and in supporting regular troops in combat. The true extent of their capabilities was also the subject of intense controversy last week in the Bundestag. The FRG Government mentions only "antiaircraft guns, howitzers, mortars, heavy howitzers, machine guns, and bazookas" as their armament; whereas, the CDU-SCU is identifying "fully motorized heavy infantry with special units, heavy equipment and heavy armament, 8,500 mortars, quad antiaircraft guns, antitank guided missiles, armored combat vehicles, and communications equipment." The ALLGEMEINE SCHWEIZERISCHE MILITAERZEITUNG (General Swiss Military Journal) has even reported 485 T54 and T55 tanks as well as 450 light armored vehicles. All experts agree that the militia units



are available to the NVA on short notice. Weapons and equipment are stored near the enterprises in depots which are heavily guarded by the People's Police. But naturally the party member cannot take his weapon home--unlike the Swiss. After all, the "dictatorship of the workers class" could not afford that.

The FRG Government's information concerning the actual combat mission and combat value of the KG is contradictory. On the one hand the Defense Ministry reports that the KG's are "not capable of an effective operational cooperation with the offensive forces of the NVA on the battlefield"; at the same time, however--August 1978--they say that the significance of the KG is "primarily in their military combat value, because in the case of a military conflict they relieve (the regular armed forces) and thus directly contribute to strengthening the Warsaw Pact's potential." Finally, the parliamentary undersecretary for the Defense Ministry, von Bualow, admitted during the Bundestag's question period in April 1979 that the use of GDR militia units on the territory of the FRG "could not automatically be excluded."

#### No "Felt Slipper" Army

Among the KG tasks listed in the DDR-HANDBUCH (GDR Handbook) published by the Ministry for Inner-German Affairs, in addition to protecting installations and securing operational freedom for the NVA is also "the direct tactical support of the armed forces." This, of course, is in contrast to the parliamentary information of the defense minister. At any rate, the West is not dealing with a "felt slipper army of beer-drinking retired functionaries" (CDU deputy Boehm) here.

The consultations concerning the CDU-CSU proposal are continuing in the Foreign Affairs Committee and in the Committees for Defense and Inner-German Affairs. Also to be considered in these consultations are the statements of highranking GDR military men, who always refer to the combat value of the KG with pride. Of course the material incentive for (KG) service--a monthly pension bonus of 100 marks after 25 years--is not mentioned, nor are the attempts to procure for oneself certification of unfitness.

Even if the discussions in Vienna initially deal only with active-duty uniformed soldiers, honesty will be best served if the potential for several hundred thousand heavily armed infantrymen is not simply ignored in the troop reduction discussions.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONTINUED NEED FOR MULTIPARTY SYSTEM JUSTIFIED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 109, 17 Jul 79 p 1

/Report from Berlin: "SED Adheres to Multiparty System in the GDR"/

/Text/ The SED continues to adhere to the formal multiparty system in the GDR. Prof Dr Huemmler, vice rector of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, responded clearly in the affirmative when asked on a 12 July 1979 "Voice of the GDR" broadcast whether, in view of a "fundamental harmony of interests" of the so-called block parties, there is even a "need" for parties in addition to the SED. The SED ideologist gave as reasons for needing noncommunist parties among other things the fact that the members of the former "bourgeois" parties are "not always in agreement" with the philosophical positions of the SED. Yet within their parties they can make their own philosophical positions "compatible with the tasks in the building of socialism." There are also citizens, he said, who do not wish to take on the high-level tasks and responsibilities required of SED members. They are therefore prepared to join another party. Added to this is the fact that in spite of common basic interests, differences exists between the classes and strata. To be sure there is a rapprochement process, but this is a historically long-term process, so that the individual classes and strata still have great tasks to carry out for their own development.

CSO: 2300

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### BRIEFS

**COLLEGE FOR CIVIL DEFENSE**--On 23 June the GDR Institute for Civil Defense in Beeskow, Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk, was granted the status of an "educational institution on the college-level" by Lieutenant General Fritz Peter (SED), director of GDR civil defense. Lieutenant General Peter declared that the institute is to "educate civil defense officers to become college-level cadres and to conduct the training and advanced training of leading cadres of the state, the economy, social organizations, as well as honorary cadres from management organs and senior-level special duties forces." In connection with the awards ceremony, "Institute graduates were appointed to their first rank as officers, lieutenant of civil defense, following the successful completion of their studies." The Institute is listed in the GDR technical school catalogue as "Technical School for Civil Defense," so that one is not dealing with the founding of a new college, but with the transformation of a technical school into a college. In the GDR there are eight colleges or academies and three technical schools from which students graduate with military rank. [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 11, Jul 79 p 11]

CSO: 2300

## PARTY DAILY DISCUSSES CSCE, MILITARY DETENTE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 79 p 8

[Article by Jozef Wiejacz, Director, Studies and Programming Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Detente, Security, Cooperation"]

[Text] Immediately after the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, on 4 August 1975, the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau and the Government Presidium examined matters pertaining to the implementation of the Final Act by Poland and took the appropriate decisions. The program for the implementation of the Final Act was the subject of a Sejm debate in October 1975, and on 20 March 1976 the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the directions in which Poland would implement this document.

Poland's achievement in bringing into life the determinations of the Helsinki document is demonstrable and questioned by no one. The internal legal order was adapted to the principles of the Final Act, which was expressed by, among other things, the amendments to the Polish People's Republic Constitution in 1976. In the area of military affairs, Poland has accepted invitations to have our observers participate in military exercises and has given advance notice of the "Shield" maneuvers which took place in 1976 with the participation of foreign observers. Various military contacts are also being developed. Numerous new regulations facilitating the development of economic and technological cooperation have been introduced; there has occurred a further improvement of economic information of essential significance for the development of this cooperation. A series of steps in the areas of environmental protection, development of tourism, passport facilitations, etc have been undertaken.

At the same time there has occurred a further development of bilateral cooperation and contacts, including the culture, science, and youth areas. Poland's relations with France, for example, are described as "model" from the point of view of Final Act implementation; this was recently recalled by the French foreign minister during his visit to Poland. Our relations with the Scandinavian countries, Austria, the USA, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and many other countries are characterized by a lively political dialogue and by expanding cooperation. Our dialogue with the

Vatican is also very significant, which was demonstrated by the recent visit of John Paul II in Poland. The process of normalizing relations with the FRG is an essential contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Europe. This contribution could be more tangible if not for the difficulties resulting from the activities of nationalistic forces and the remnants of revisionism in the FRG in, for example, legislative activities contrary to the principles of the Final Act.

During the course of the dialogue with the Western states Poland points to those matters which are contrary to or impede the realization of the determinations of CSCE. These pertain to difficulties in trade and economic cooperation, the formation of a picture of Poland which frequently departs from reality, impediments in inter-personal contacts linked with the visa policies of some states, and the lack of at least approximate balance in the mutual presentation of cultural and scientific achievements.

Despite these faults and shortfalls, the period which has passed since Helsinki permits us to state that the realization of the Final Act is going forward, although its pace is not always sufficiently rapid. This is linked with the counteractions of the anti-detente forces which want to obtain one-sided benefits from the implementation of the Helsinki resolutions. This tendency was clearly marked during the meeting of the CSCE member-states which took place in Belgrade in 1977-78. The selective approach of some Western states to the Final Act and the imposition of polemics of an ideological or propagandistic character inflicted harm upon the CSCE process and were the reason why the results of that meeting were more modest than Poland and the other socialist countries, and also numerous Western countries, had expected.

We can hope that the proper conclusions will be drawn from the meeting in Belgrade. Any attempt whatsoever de facto to revise the Final Act or to interfere in internal affairs is condemned to failure, but can inflict harm on the achievement of progress in matters of vital significance for all the CSCE participants.

Meetings of the experts from the CSCE states in the matter of preparations for an Academic Forum on the peaceful resolution of disputes and on cooperation in the region of the Mediterranean Sea which took place in 1978-79 (in Bonn, Montreaux, and Malta), although they brought no spectacular results, demonstrated a will to continue the CSCE process on the basis of realistic premises. This is a good prognosis prior to the next meeting of the CSCE countries, which will take place in Madrid in 1980.

Poland, like the USSR and the other member-states of the Warsaw Pact, wants the meeting in Madrid to signify important progress toward full realization of the determinations of the Final Act and in the work of consolidating detente in Europe and strengthening security and general European cooperation. An especially important task, as is pointed out by the 23 November 1978 Declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of the member-states



of the Warsaw Pact, is assuring practical progress in the areas of military detente and disarmament.

It is an obvious matter that there can be no lasting detente without progress in diminishing military confrontation and in reducing armed forces and arms. Poland, like the other socialist countries, is opposed to a policy which requires an arms race. We are of the opinion that the military balance, both in Europe and throughout the world, ought to be maintained not by way of increasing armaments, but by reducing them and by undertaking concrete steps in the area of disarmament.

The member-states of the Warsaw Pact have presented a comprehensive program of means which would lead to halting the arms race and to a transition to disarmament. Some of these propositions were recently given concrete form in the communique from the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the socialist states, which took place in Budapest in May 1979.

Their intention is clearly to complement political detente with progress in the area of military detente. The socialist countries are proposing that the 35 CSCE countries enter into a treaty by which each would renounce first use both of nuclear and conventional forces against the others. This proposal reflects the demand of certain Western countries, which believe that such a prohibition should encompass both kinds of weapons. This kind of formal-legal obligation is altogether in accord with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and would strengthen observance of the principle of not using force or the threat of force. Another proposal pertains to the non-extension of existing politico-military organizations. It is in accord with Poland's conception of striving in the long term for the liquidation, rather than the strengthening, of the current division of Europe into two opposing blocs.

One of the reasons for the minute progress in the area of disarmament is the lack of mutual trust. Hence the increasing significance of all steps which would strengthen this trust. This was one of the assumptions on the basis of which Poland put forth the idea of educating societies in a spirit of peace [POSLIP]. The Final Act foresees a series of technical-military measures which are described as "confidence building measures." Realization of the relevant determinations of the Final Act has supplied data which encourages development of the program of these measures. The states of the Warsaw Pact have proposed that the obligation to give notification should pertain not only to larger military exercises, but also to larger military movements and to air and naval force exercises. Earlier proposals pertaining to the setting of a numerical ceiling on military maneuvers and to the extension of confidence building measures to the area of the Mediterranean Sea remain in force.

The socialist countries have put forth the proposition that a conference on the political level, with the participation of all the European countries and of the USA and Canada, be called in 1979 in order to examine these and

other questions. Preparations for it and its success would have great significance for the success of the Madrid meeting. The agenda of such a conference is something which would have to be agreed upon, all the more so since France, Norway, and other countries have or are developing their own conceptual schemes of measures in the area of military detente.

The new proposals put forward by the socialist countries have contributed to the enlivening of the general European dialogue which is currently concentrating on preparations for the Madrid meeting and on the problems of military detente. Poland is taking an active part in them and is continuing its traditional interest and involvement in the area of strengthening security and disarmament in Europe.

During the important period in which Europe finds itself it is singularly important not to undertake any measures which would preclude or complicate the achievement of progress in lessening the military confrontation. With anxiety we observe the tendencies of NATO circles which intend to strengthen and modernize the tactical nuclear forces in Western Europe. These tendencies are accompanied by a propaganda campaign which intends to indicate that the USSR has superiority in the area of medium range nuclear weapons. This propaganda avoids the fact that the Soviet Union has on numerous occasions declared that it is ready by means of agreement and on the basis of complete mutuality to reduce all weapons, including medium range weapons.

The recent meeting in Vienna between L. Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter and the signing of the SALT II agreement on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons were an important event. This agreement does not mean the end of the arms race; it does, however, establish serious quantitative and qualitative limits on strategic weapons and foresees their further reductions in SALT III. The significance of SALT II also results from its creation of new possibilities for making progress on other levels of disarmament negotiations, including in the framework of the Vienna negotiations on mutual reductions of armed forces and arms in Europe. By confirming the principle of equal security it strengthens the stabilizing elements in the relations between the two powers.

This agreement, therefore, has a fundamental significance for world peace and, by the same token, also for the successful continuation of the CSCE process.

The Madrid meeting of the CSCE states ought to be well prepared. This is why Poland, in the course of numerous bilateral consultations, intends to guide work in such a direction that it might bring real progress in Final Act realization. It is, however, understandable that this meeting will depend also on the general international situation and especially on progress in halting the arms race.

YOUTH PAPER CALLS FOR INCREASED PZPR ROLE, INFLUENCE

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 9 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Waldemar Mickiewicz]

[Text] In a developed socialist society the mechanisms by which the state functions are being improved, socialist democracy is being developed, and the link between the Party and the masses is being deepened. The political role of the Party will be strengthened, but the extent of the functions which the Party currently performs in the area of administration will be decreasing.

At the beginning of the 1970's, the PZPR Central Committee First Secretary, Comrade Edward Gierek, strongly emphasized the principle that "The Party leads and the government governs." On the one hand it was a matter of insuring that Party organizations at various levels would occupy themselves with the most important issues: sound formulation of the working people's interests, evaluation and control of the correctness of the activities undertaken by the state and economic administration, and their conformity to the resolutions and decisions of the Party. The administration, on the other hand, gained a large degree of independence in the area of fulfilling established socioeconomic tasks.

If we are to talk about Party activities which bring the aforementioned principle to life, then we should here enumerate the following matters, not that they are unknown:

--The principle of annually consulting with one-third of the members of the PZPR in order to obtain a clear picture of the problems bothering individual socio-professional circles and to formulate social goals and tasks as soundly as possible.

--Obtaining the opinions of experts prior to plenary sessions and congresses.

--The principle of consultation, which makes it possible to discover the opinions of the worker collectives in the largest work plants. Consultations simultaneously serve to inform society about the reasons why individual problems are taken up and to shape a climate which favors implementation of the decisions which are made.

--Activities serving to strengthen the institutions of socialist democracy; activities for the strengthening of worker and resident self-government; efforts to strengthen the representative organs of state authority, the Sejm and the People's Councils; action to increase the significance of criticism, especially press criticism.

--Increasing the role of social control by means of, among other things, creating Social Control Committees whose task is, among others, to coordinate all the control activities conducted in a given area.

--Strengthening of one-man leadership and one-man responsibility. This subject has been taken up many times in various forms. The number of "nomenklatura" leading positions in enterprises, for example, has been decreased in order to give administrative management greater competence in the area of cadre selection and, by this means, to increase further their feeling of security. This, after all, serves them in undertaking currently difficult technical and organizational decisions.

These are only some of the initiatives undertaken by the Party which indirectly or directly facilitate implementation of the principle that "The Party leads and the government governs." The primary motive of all these activities was to gain the greatest possible degree of compatibility between social goals and tasks and the interests and opinions of the working people and to gain approval for the programs of socio-economic development undertaken by the Party. And we do have to state that the directions of socio-economic development are universally accepted as sound and as in accordance with the needs, interests, and aspirations, of the nation. Currently discussions are going on concerning ways to implement the decisions which have been established and accepted and concerning matters of eliminating unfavorable phenomena which still occur. Examples of the latter are the following:

--Branch, department, and regional provincialism. Edward Gierek has devoted much room in his speeches to this. Press publications have frequently taken up this matter. The problem is that in some organizations it has happened that the goals of the organization have come to take precedence over general social goals, with the result that the needs and interests of society have been ignored and violated in the name of the interests of individual branches and departments. It seems that the resolutions which have been made have not met the test to date.

--The discrepancy between social and work discipline and the technical equipment in various divisions of the national economy. As a result of this there still has not been the expected progress in improving economic effectiveness. Discipline is lousy both among rank and file workers and among management cadres. This influences the decline in the feeling of social responsibility for the results of our joint work. It is accompanied by such socially harmful attitudes as voluntarism, high-handedness, and excessive faith in agreements.



--Inadequacies in the organization of work and in the management of production assets, which have deepened our economic difficulties. Difficulties in the social sphere have also grown out of this. There have been delays in the completion of many undertakings which would increase the populace's standard of living. The results of the failure of the economic sphere to adapt to the needs and demands of social life can be seen in, to take some examples, commercial construction in settlements and investments in the health service and culture. We come here to the second side of the principle of state and economic administration which we discussed above: to the matter of the execution of the resolutions and decisions of the Party organizations on various levels.

And so, during the current stage of socio-economic development, the principle that "The Party leads and the government governs" requires that experiences to date be taken into account. Although we can state that, in its main outlines, the principle has met the test, it seems that the questions of consistency in the implementation of the tasks laid down by the Party, of increasing the real influence of Plant Party Organizations on the course of social and economic processes, and of strengthening the leading role of the Party at the lowest level, that of the enterprises, require improved solutions.

It may be worthwhile to note here the superficially paradoxical situation: at the same time as the influence of Plant Party Organizations on the course of events in their area is weakening, the view is gaining strength that their interference in the socio-economic life of enterprises is excessive. This can be explained by the fact that part of the administrative cadre in such an enterprise would like altogether to escape the control of Basic Party Organizations. In these enterprises there is an increase in such phenomena as, for example, dishonesty in assessing the work of people and of entire collectives, for which Party organizations are frequently blamed, although they have nothing to do with this.

Opinions formulated in such ways are harmful for Party organizations and convenient for administrators; and I think that it cannot be otherwise. This is because, in the opinion of society, the responsibility of the Party is assumed to extend to all spheres and areas. But actually it is known that, being the primary political force, the Party occupies itself primarily with articulating the interests of society on the level of the moral-political unity of the nation and establishes directions for activity in order to keep pace with the current and future needs of society. The Party, thus, occupies itself with matters which are primarily political. But it is not only this real role of the Party which is important. What society expects from it in a given situation must also be taken into consideration. No one is in a position to escape this, I suppose; actually, no one would be able to.

Society's expectation, let us admit this directly, pertains primarily to increasing the degree of consistency and effectiveness in actions intended to bring established socio-economic tasks into life. This is why youth organizations, to an even greater degree than formerly, ought to activate



themselves in their work of all forms in order to make the largest possible contribution to the activities which execute the resolutions and decisions of the Party and to raising the control functions of society in relation to the administration to a higher level.

The youth organizations have considerable possibilities in this area. They participate in the work of the executive of plant committees and basic Party organizations, and also in the executive organs of the Party at all levels, they are members of state governing bodies, and they are active in worker self-government. They should, therefore, include themselves as widely as possible in the processes of improving socio-economic life which are inspired by Party organizations and should also become clearly aware of all the questions of our current socio-political life, including questions concerning the functioning of the principle that "The Party leads and the government governs."

The strengthening of the leading role of the Party flows from the demand to increase the effectiveness with which institutions of socialist democracy act and from the need to fill with content the assumptions which guide all the representative organs which have been created in our system and the whole democratic system, starting with the Sejm and going down, through the system of People's Councils of all levels, to resident and worker self-government and still further down. The process of the weakening of the leading role of the Party in enterprises is accompanied by such negative phenomena as ignoring our common needs and diminishing feeling of responsibility among part of the managerial cadres of enterprises and other units of the state and economic administration.

Taking up these important questions among the youth, one ought to bear in mind also the need for concrete action to strengthen social discipline and the function of social control and to raise the level of ideological-moral criteria in the selection of cadres in individual areas of life, especially managerial and administrative cadres. This is because they have the greatest influence on the mood and opinion in society. They ought, therefore, to correspond to all the criteria which the Party establishes for this cadre and to judge this cadre on the basis of their fulfillment, not just on the basis of indices which frequently are a picture of merely superficial results. Youth organization activists in all positions in their professional and social work should demand precisely such attitudes from themselves and from others.

Case: 2600

FRG GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF FINANCING 'REVISIONISM'

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 17 Jul 79 p 5

[Article by Edmund Maclewski: "Who Finances Revisionism--STATE FUNDS..."]

[Text] It is time to discuss briefly the Federal Republic of Germany budget for the current year in connection with revisionism activity. It is not enough, however, to constantly repeat the fact that the sums I cite constitute a part of the amount paid as grants-in-aid and subsidies directly and indirectly to revisionist organizations. Nor do they cover similar payments to revisionist treasuries by local governments or amounts simply paid under other designations.

Thus, for example, in 1977 the revisionist press informed its readers that "visits to relatives living in expatriated areas" (that is to Poland) are subsidized by... the federal government. Thus anyone applying for a Polish visa who simultaneously applies to the authorities in Bonn with the statement that he wants to visit relatives living on the other side of the Oder or Nysa rivers gets a non-repayable grant of 370 marks per person. Claimants present an appropriate application to the "All-German Institute" in the government's bureau for All-German Affairs, sign a receipt and then get the money. There are a large number of similar provisions.

The FRG budget for 1979 anticipates a larger amount of grants and direct and indirect fringe benefits for revisionist activity. By way of illustration I will show examples here of provisions of but two departments: Internal Affairs and Intra-German Affairs. The first of these assigns the sum of 2.3 million marks this year for "central organizations and associations concerned with the problem of integrating resettlers (late ones) "exiles," refugees "and war victims." This is 600,000 marks more than in the preceding year. The sum of 3,970 thousand marks, or 120 thousand marks more than in 1978, is assigned for activity whose purpose is the preservation and development of the homeland sides of exiles' cultural heritage and the development of the "cultural activity" of refugees. And, note, 980 thousand marks, that is, 120 thousand marks more, are assigned for "former East German diocese bishopric administrations beyond the Oder and Nysa now located in West German territory." Here we

thought, that on 28 June 1972, Pope Paul VI decided officially on an adjustment of church administration boundaries in Poland to the state's western border which terminated the previous state of temporariness, expressed, among other things by the existence in the FRG of Polish bishopric ordinaries. However, the federal budget for 1979 did not take note of that fact. The "Federal Institute of Eastern and International Studies" in Cologne (also subsidized by the FRG's Department of Internal Affairs) gets 4,132 thousand marks, this year, or 73 thousand marks more along with an assignment of "conducting critical analyses of existing political, ideological, social, economic and legal conditions, and observing the development of these conditions in eastern states with particular regard to the Soviet Union" for the purpose of "studying their influence and development on the policy of other states" and, "studying the development of Communist parties as well as parties under the latter's influence in other states, for the FRG government's needs." Or, so to speak, a ready made spy institute.

The department of "intra-German Affairs" has substantially higher sums of money at its disposal intended mainly, as indicated by the department's title, for activity linked with the NRD (although not exclusively) as well as relations between the GDR and FRG. The 1979 budget for this department anticipates a total of almost one-half billion marks (464,806 thousand), 18 million plus more than in the preceding year. This money, as indicated in the wording of the budget justification, is for serving the nation's unity and support for the federal government's political responsibility for Germany as an entity. These proposals take on their true form and disclose their full meaning, when one considers that on 21 December 1972 the FRG and the GDR signed an agreement on the principles of normalizing mutual relations, Article VI of which states: that both countries "assume the basic principle that the sovereign authority of each country is restricted to its own territory. Both respect each other's independence and self-dependence in its internal and foreign affairs. . . . The agreement contains wording on the "sovereign authority of each of the two countries," while the (FRG) budget contains wording on "the responsibility of the federal government for Germany," which in short signifies the rebirth of the notorious "Hallstein doctrine."

However, let us get back to the budget figures. Of the total sum of a half-billion marks at the disposal of the department concerned with "Intra-German relations," 1.9 million marks was assigned for "strengthening political work on behalf of Germany" (Deutschlandpolitische Arbeit), as well as supporting the activity of refugee and exile associations and organizations and the "Germany Home" Foundation in West Berlin. One third, or 670 thousand marks of this amount was obtained by the revisionist directed-against-the-GDR "Union of Germans from Central Germany" that is the GDR, although ("East Germany" here are the Polish voivodships on the Oder and the Baltic), while 772 thousand is for "Germany House" the revisionist agitation headquarters aimed against the GDR and socialist countries.

The appropriation for "political-education work on behalf of Germany" amounts to 24.7 million marks for the current year of which 17,870 thousand marks is for covering the costs of seminars, courses, meetings, lectures, et cetera. In other words for propaganda and for training a revisionist apparatus. Under the same provision, further sums are received by the "Eastern Academy" in Lunenburg which occupies itself with its famous "study of the East." The Academy receives 655 thousand marks (it is also financed by the local government of Lower Saxony). The Research Council of another revisionist institute, Herder's Institute in Marburg, received the sum of 1.6 million marks on condition that the local government of Hesse will give the Institute a grant in the same amount. Both institutes are known for their revisionist position.

Continuing. The budget estimate for the year 1979 earmarked 53,496 thousand marks for "supporting particular cultural-political centers of an all-German character." The 13,300 thousand mark subsidy for "development of travel to Berlin and over the GDR border" is substantial. An additional 3.7 million marks will go for "publications of an All-German character." Somewhat more, 3.8 million marks, will go for "the development of political-all-German studies," and finally, 13,187 thousand marks (523 thousand more than last year) will go to the "All-German Institute, the Federal Headquarters of All-German Problems." I mentioned at the outset about refunding travel costs to "homeland tourists" setting out for western and northern Polish areas. The reader of this article will admit that these are substantial amounts. However, they do not completely exhaust the entirety of the problem of FRG state grants with respect to revisionism. There remain still other government departments, local governments, federal institutions and local communal authorities, institutions, and private individuals, et cetera, et cetera. For illustrative purposes, I will show by way of supplement a certain trifle. The President of the Federal Bureau of Employment Josef Stingl made available appropriate sums from the Bureau's resources for the full-time employment of two workers on behalf of the revisionist association of compatriots "Slazaki" (Silesians); they are to work in the camps of late resettlers in Darmstadt and Langen. As they say, the goat was made the gardner....

Another compatriot association "Wschodnie Prusaki" (East Prussians), published an appeal in 1970 for collecting money for "the struggle thrust upon us against renouncing our lands." In reviewing the appeal in 1978, potential donors were informed: "Gifts and grants can be deducted from amounts subject to taxation. A receipt of the payment of a gift serves as proof for Treasury authorities." In other words, a financial privilege for those who support revisionism.

One more example. From information furnished during a meeting of the compatriot association "Pomorzani" (Pomeranian) in northern On the Rhine-Westphalia, it appears that seminars dedicated to the "policy of Germany (Deutschlandpolitik) and East Germany" organized by that especially-active association are financed by the Federal Ministry of Science and Scientific



Studies from funds earmarked for "training adults." Quite appropriate: Adults and youth are being trained in revisionism in those courses.

It is time to summarize the problem. The situation is as follows: Despite the passage of almost nine years from the signing of the agreement on the principles of normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG there has been no change to date in the Federal Republic of the instruments of revisionist activity formed during the cold war. This concerns above all legislation with the notorious statute "on exiles and refugees." In consequence, pursuant to the provisions of those laws, federal and local governments are obliged to support, and do financially support, activities of revisionist organizations and institutions which are fighting federal government policy aimed at easing tension and peaceful coexistence on the basis of existing reality. This situation creates its type of vicious circle: Forces hostile to the policy are supported by the government administering the policy although undoubtedly certain shifts in emphasis on major issues have occurred in this area in recent years. Grants are given primarily "for cultural activity." In its essence, however, it is political activity because its purpose is to influence the FRG public's historical and political consciousness in the spirit of revisionism. One cannot remain silent on so important a matter.

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CSO: 2600



## COMMENTARY ON NEW POLISH CARDINALS NOTED

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 6, Jun 79 pp 106-108

[Excerpts] On 30 June 1979 will be held the first consistory of John Paul II at which 15 archbishops and bishops will become cardinals. On the list of new cardinals announced in the Vatican are two Poles: Bishop Wladyslaw Rubin, secretary general of the Synod of Bishops and the delegate of the Primate of Poland for emigration pastoral affairs, residing permanently in Rome, as well as Archbishop Franciszek Macharski, Krakow metropolitan.

We published the biography of Cardinal-designate Archbishop Franciszek Macharski in Issue No 12 of WIEZ of last year [1978] on the occasion of his taking over the Krakow archdiocese. We will thus briefly recall that he was born on 20 May 1927, was ordained to the priesthood in 1950, and after obtaining his doctorate in Swiss Freiburg, he carried out various functions in the Metropolitan Seminary in Krakow, of which he became the rector in 1970. He was one of the closest collaborators of Cardinal Karol Wojtyla and took over the Krakow metropolitan after him. It is worthwhile to note that John XXIII and Paul VI also raised their successors in the archbishoprics to the rank of cardinal in the first consistories of their pontificates. Cardinal-designate Bishop Wladyslaw Rubin was born on 20 September 1917 in Toki near Zbaraz [now a part of the USSR]. After completing secondary school in Tarnopol in 1935, he began his studies in the Faculty of Theology of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwow. He completed his studies, which were interrupted by the war, at the Faculty of Theology of St. Joseph's University in Beirut. It was there also that he was ordained a priest in 1946, after which he performed priestly duties among the Polish groups in Lebanon. In the years from 1949 to 1952 he studied canon law at the Gregorian University in Rome where he earned his doctorate. In the following years, he performed pastoral duties for the Poles in Italy. In 1959 he was named rector of the Polish Papal College in Rome and in 1961, after the death of Archbishop Gawlina, he became rector of the Polish church of St. Stanislaw in Rome as well as the delegate of the Primate of Poland for emigration pastoral affairs. It was at that time that he was consecrated a bishop. In establishing the Synod of Bishops institution, Pope Paul VI appointed Bishop Rubin as the secretary general

of the Synod of Bishops, which is an unusually responsible function, on the scale of the universal Church and which he performs until the present time. The appointment of Bishop Rubin to the rank of cardinal, is commented upon, among others, as an indication of an increase in the role of the Synod in the Church.

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## POLISH-WEST GERMAN CATHOLIC RECONCILIATION ACTION NOTED

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 6, Jun 79 p 84

[Text] The attitude of the German Catholics to the issue of reconciliation and understanding with Poland, conceived in its global dimensions, is a manifestation which is complex, differentiated, and encumbered by sensitive historical-political determinations. Therefore, the sincere gestures and concrete actions of the various Catholic groups in the FRG, which contribute to overcoming the tragic past in the relations between the two nations in the spirit of Christian peace and solidarity are all the more meaningful and pleasing.

The "Maximilian Kolbe Action" (Akcja im. Maksymiliana Kolbego), which has existed since 1973, has its share in such activity.

"Maximilian-Kolbe-Werk" is to a small degree a legally formalized institution; it is not a foundation in sensu stricto nor an association. It is rather--as the name indicates ("Werk" in German means "action")--a plane for activity of all interested institutions and persons. The main participants in the Maximilian Kolbe Action [group] are the Central Committee of German Catholics, various Catholic state and professional groupings, and also the West German sections of "Pax Christi" and "Caritas." Also, participation in the group [Maximilian Kolbe Action] are some [Catholic] parishes and religious orders as well as numerous physical persons. The Action fund is created from the membership fees of the members and also various types of donations coming, among others, from Sunday collections organized for this purpose. The president of the Maximilian Kolbe Action is Albrecht Beckel; and the vice presidents are Bishop Georg Moser (Chairman of the German "Pax Christi") and Monsignor Georg Huessler (president of the German section of "Caritas"). The secretary general is Alfons Erb. The secretariat is located in Freiburg in Germany. A curatorium manages the fund.

In the information leaflet of [the Maximilian Kolbe] Action we read: "Our purpose, above all, is the giving of witness to Polish women and men, the victims of the inhuman Hitlerite system of concentration camps, that there people in Germany for whom their sufferings and results of these sufferings are not of unconcern; we want to express to them our sympathy, respect, and solidarity, and we also desire in some small way to compensate for the injury done to them in the name of Germany and endeavor to ease their life."

APPORTIONMENT OF SOCIAL FUND QUESTIONED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 31 Jul 79 p 4

[Article by INTERPRESS Correspondent, Bozena Papiernik: "Management of the Social Fund"]

[Text] The assumption that funds and other social means are to be a flexible instrument of independent policy in the hands of plant councils and the labor service is a fundamental assumption, which—in my opinion—is often forgotten in the reflections on these subjects. Here are the facts. The general division of the sums from the social funds is generally as follows: in the last 2 years 50 percent of the fund is earmarked for rest for adults, 25 percent for rest for children and youth, while the remaining 25 percent serves for all the remaining purposes. In such a situation, the sums, which are devoted, for example, to the development of sports, culture, home gardens, and other purposes, are almost minimal.

The question is often raised: is this distribution correct? However, such a "global" plane of reflections appears to me to be not very creative.

Who else, if not the work forces and activists in every specific work plant should know best what the people need the most? On the other hand, in light of the numerous checks made in the past year the fact that social management in work plants is often accidental fills one with anxiety. Budget estimates are quite often made in the "dark" and by "guessing," without analyzing the unfulfilled and exceeded budget positions from the previous year.

What is worse—[they are made] also without a deeper analysis of the needs of the work force and without taking a look at its structure and development trends.

CSO: 2600



'SZTANDAR MŁODYCH' ADDRESSES ITSELF TO CRUDE CONSUMPTION, IMPORT ISSUE

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 27 Jul 79 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jef.): "Rationalization of Crude Oil Consumption--From the Catalogue of Priority Tasks"]

[Text] We concern ourselves with raw materials, fuels, and energy in our newspaper columns constantly. The subject of crude oil returns particularly frequently. This is the result of the economic and social importance of that fuel and the fact that reality engenders constant changes here--primarily changes on the world price market. Our journalistic activity enhances the awareness that the times of abundant crude have ended, never to return and there is no way that conclusions cannot be drawn from that.

On 26 July 1979 in the article entitled "To Live With Expensive Crude" we wrote about the oil problems of the Western world smitten by the price increases for crude brought about by the OPEC countries. In the United States, Japan, the FRG, and, besides, in the entire EEC, the experts are bent over the consumption indicators for crude oil, and its derivatives, by individual consumers as well as by entire branches of industry. The possibilities for lowering consumption and the rationale for substituting the "liquid gold" by other fuels are being sought everywhere. Programs for battling with the excessive appetites of the economies for crude are being prepared; we will mention only the program of President Carter. The governments, whether they want to or not, are also admitting that the people must take upon themselves a portion of the increased costs for importing crude. On the other hand, it is important also for the people to gradually change their habits with regard to the carefree consumption of fuels and energy and acknowledge to themselves more frequently that the abundant times have passed.

Unfortunately, the truths pertaining to crude oil refer also to our country. We also import crude, we consume it, and we feel the growing burden of the national budget because of the purchases of it. We are in a far better situation than the Western countries in the field of prices, that is true. But even those prices which we are paying are rising appreciably.

We cover three-fourths of our needs by imports from the Soviet Union. This is a crude which is cheaper than the OPEC crude. This is what Henryk Borucinski writes on this subject in KURIER POLSKI of 25 July 1979: "This year our imports from the USSR amount to nearly 13 million tons. The prices in the turnover with the CEMA countries are fixed in advance and are binding for the entire year. The basis for fixing these prices is the average world price for the last 5 years. We, therefore, pay considerably less for Soviet crude than for Arabian crude, especially since we receive it via the pipeline, which is cheaper than via sea transport.

"Our ties with the socialist countries," writes H. Borucinski further, "and the imports of Soviet crude contribute to softening the consequences of the price rises for crude and other commodities which burden our trade balance, but obviously do not eliminate them entirely."

After all, a portion of the crude finding its way to our country comes also from OPEC countries where no price systems protect us from the increases. For 3.5 million tons of imported crude from that direction, we must pay just as much as the supplier demands. This year's OPEC price increases, in maintaining next year the same amount of imported crude as in this year, means an additional burden for our economy in the amount of 310 million dollars.

The above-cited H. Borucinski formulates the essence of the conclusions emanating from that as follows: "The situation on the world market imposes upon us the necessity of concrete actions in the sphere of foreign trade and in the domestic field of fuels and energy management. Even assuming an optimum processing of the crude, we must bring it to the most economical consumption. We have not been able to achieve a more marked progress in this area since 1975. This is a sign that we are definitely not very active in this field which is so vital for the economy."

It is fitting to add to the above words that the lack of activeness in this area is costing us all too much. The possibilities for decreasing the consumption of crude and its derivatives are very considerable, irrespective of the annual competitions and plans for the improvement of the fuels and energy plans. Comparable indices with other countries show that they are clearly to our disadvantage. There is much to do here with regard to lowering the consumption of fuels, for example, by cargo transport, passenger transport, and also by private motorization.

The situation on the world crude market and prognoses in this field bid us deep reflection on economic development as well as on the future of entire fields, sectors, and production directions.

In thinking about long-range actions, we must be cognizant of the necessity for immediate and concrete undertakings. Everyone will agree perhaps that excesses and vain procedures should have no place, that replies require questions, why the engines of our automobiles use up so much [gasoline]

and why so much fuel "evaporates" in transport. One can also question the justification for many of the trips. Here is a characteristic example: the IL-62 airplane, burning a considerable quantity of fuel, consumes less of it if it is properly weighed out before the flight. This is not being done, at least not always--which the LOT people themselves admit.

The less that we will captivate ourselves with the field of crude consumption and its derivatives, the better for our economy and for us all. We can no longer go along with the lack of progress in conservation and rational consumption of crude. The necessity for intensifying actions with regard to fuels and energy conservation is a tough necessity which should be recognized as one of the most urgent tasks.

CSO: 2600

## PARTY POLICY TOWARD RELIGION EMPHASIZED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 79 pp 69-70

[Editorial article: "Scientific-Materialist Education of the Masses"]

[Text] Mastery of the scientific-materialist conception of the world and life is essential and fundamental to improvement of all components of revolutionary socialist awareness and to resolute, unhesitating fulfillment of all the tasks of building the new society. Modern scientific and technical advances and the professional and cultural disciplines cannot be applied to the best effect in socialist construction unless they are used by people who are armed with the party's dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception of the world and life and who are freed from the shackles of obscurantism and religion. Realizing the importance of this truth, our party maintains a rich political-ideological activity partly to disseminate science and culture and to keep improving the masses' knowledge, and partly to rid people's consciousness of idealist, mystic conceptions and misrepresentations of the world and life and to combat any backward manifestations and practices or belief in obscure supernatural forces that stultifies their thinking and impairs their capacity for creative effort.

The RCP takes a highly principled stand on religion. Respecting people's freedom of conscience, the Constitution as the basic law of the land guarantees both freedom of religion and freedom to reject any religious belief. The RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism and the Communists' Moral Code, based upon the guiding principles of the program, designate thorough mastery of the scientific, working class conception of life and society, namely dialectical and historical materialism, as a primary task of the communists and of all citizens of Romania, which is fully committed to radical reform of the old way of life and thought.

Regarding the problem of freeing man from bourgeois ideology, obscurantism and mysticism and of arming him with a revolutionary, dialectical-materialist conception of the world as an objective, intrinsic necessity of the construction of the new society, our party realizes that it is a long, difficult and gradual process implemented patiently and specifically from one category of people to another.



Upon joining the party, the communist must accept and respect the party's regulations and program and take an active part in implementing them. He must continually raise his political level and master the party's ideological conception as stated in its program as well as dialectical and historical materialism. And there is an irreconcilable contradiction between our party's ideological conception and the religious, mystical conception of the world, life and society. Communists cannot allow themselves to profess one and practice the other. They must set an example for other citizens in all respects as leading fighters against the old and against the backward conceptions and attitudes and the religious customs and practices that prevent people from understanding natural and social phenomena and from fighting for the fulfillment of the RCP Program.

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## ROLE OF PARTY ORGANS IN PLAN FULFILLMENT

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 79 pp 8-12

[Editorial article: "Comprehensive Program for All Party Units"]

[Text] The Working Conference of the Party Central Committee of 16-17 May 1979 was arranged at Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion and attended by the first secretaries and secretaries in charge of economic and agricultural problems of the county party committees, by activists of the Central Committee, and by other personnel in the economy. It was a high point in the party administration's systematic efforts to provide all that is needed to carry out our developmental programs.

The conference was held right after the conclusion of a first stage of socialist competition in this critical year for fulfillment of the current five-year plan. It summed up the progress made so far and outlined new objectives for the improvement of our economic activity so that the great events of this year, namely the 35th anniversary of our national liberation and the 12th Party Congress, will be met with the greatest possible progress everywhere.

Experience and the results obtained fully and convincingly demonstrate the correctness and suitability of the party's measures to perfect the economic-financial mechanism. On the whole the industrial output plan was exceeded, and 24 counties met the most important index, namely the net output, while 14 of them obtained increases of more than 3 percent. Major gains were also made in growth of labor productivity and reduction of material outlays.

These achievements are indicative of a wealth of experience. By its organization and procedure and its careful consideration of the working methods and approach of the party organs and organizations in managing the economy, the conference brought out the best experience and methods and gave those present an opportunity to assimilate all that is new and useful in the party's activity.

Yet some of the county party organizations failed to provide for plan fulfillment, and lags were recorded. The pronounced operational character of the conference lent itself to detailed analysis of the failures as well as formulation

of conclusions and measures to remedy them promptly. Both the good experience and the objectives are clearly and brilliantly set forth in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, which analyzes both the efforts and progress made and the defects comprehensively and in depth. By virtue of its wealth of ideas and invaluable specific directives, the speech constitutes a rich and comprehensive operational program for all party organs and organizations and for all workers collectives.

The main lesson learned from the conference is clearly and emphatically pointed out in the speech, to the effect that "... where the county committees and the party organizations made an adequate organizational effort on behalf of the combined efforts of the workers collectives and the efficiency of the workers councils, good results were obtained and even very good ones at some points." Comparison of their results with those of the counties that did not fulfill their tasks inevitably leads to the conclusion that the defective work and serious shortcomings of some party organizations were the main reasons for the failures. As the party secretary general pointed out, "The county, municipal and city party organizations and those in the economic units must draw all the conclusions indicated by the shortcomings of the first 4 months of this year and take decisive measures on behalf of the efficiency of economic activity as a whole."

When the party organized study of the speech by all party activists, all communists, the county, municipal, city and communal party units and those in enterprises and institutions, it also intended them to examine the particular situation on every job, in shops and sections and in enterprises and to report the existing reserves, forming on this basis detailed and accurate operational plans to carry out the directives of the conference. All party work is now focused on the adopted measures and steady efforts to mobilize and concentrate all forces upon the best possible performance of the entire task.

The most urgent measures are required to adopt and apply the good experience presented at the conference. The party secretary general said, "Let us make a consistent effort to generalize what is good..." and the party units must constantly emphasize this requirement. In direct and efficient ways, all necessary aid must be lent to the effort to expand all the useful methods that have proved their effectiveness in the struggle to implement the plan. It is by such methods that the leading party organizations have achieved better results. For example the Cluj County Party Committee shifted the emphasis in its fieldwork to enterprises, sections and particular jobs, where the battle to implement the party policy actually goes on every day and every hour. It made sure that this shift would not be merely formal but would be followed up by a specific effort on the part of activists without too many meetings and conferences, and it instituted specific measures to provide for the greater effectiveness of all economic activity. In the industrial units every product and process were analyzed to determine what should be done to increase production, lower costs, and modernize and improve product quality. Emphasis was placed upon lending the necessary aid. When tendencies were found in some units to exceed the consumption norms for raw materials and materials in the first quarter of the year, collectives of leading workers, technicians, engineers and economists were promptly formed who examined the defects and their causes on every job and directly contributed by various solutions to their elimination, so that the situation was rapidly corrected. The

fact is also noteworthy that when serious difficulties arise in some enterprises, they make on-the-spot analyses jointly with representatives of the ministries and centrals and the problems are solved as rapidly as possible.

The great and increasingly complex tasks of the present stage that were emphasized at the conference cannot be accomplished by any other methods. Constant familiarity with activity in any field and prompt action to lend the necessary aid for timely solution of current problems are essential if all plan indices are to be fulfilled, if a decisive start is to be made in organizing the production process so as to permit further expansion of work on several machines, if the directive to employ auxiliary and nonproductive personnel at least half time in production is to be carried out, if measures to improve the professional qualifications of all personnel are to be expedited, if a daily effort is to be made to recruit locally and train the manpower needed for new investment projects and development of the units, if the whole effort to check product quality is to be improved, especially by checking subassemblies, motors and mechanisms before assembly, if inputs are to be regularly reduced, if agricultural operations are to be performed on time and as well as possible, and if all the other tasks emphasized at the conference are to be carried out.

For example, in reliance upon the party activists and communists the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee instituted an extensive program to find new potentials for increasing production and labor productivity, curtailing material outlays, and improving investment operations. Picked collectives examined the situation in workshops, sections, enterprises and worksites and consulted many communists and other workers. To forestall irregularities, the party committees in enterprises, the sector committees and the municipal committee make a bimonthly survey of the fulfillment of the main indices. Progress in fulfilling the export and investments plans is analyzed every 10 days. On-the-spot analyses by the municipal and sectorial party organs have been expanded. These actions have made it easier to find new potentials in such primary units as the Heavy Machine Enterprise, the Automatica Pump Enterprise et al., and they will be exploited this year. Moreover the investments plan was fulfilled in March and April, and the housing construction plan was fulfilled for the first 4 months of the year.

Unfortunately, a number of counties and economic units failed to meet some indices of their plan tasks, causing others some difficulties through failure to supply raw materials and materials in the specified quantities or late delivery of cooperative products. Under the present circumstances, when the activity of many collectives directly depends upon the efforts and sense of responsibility of their collaborators, it is vital for every communist, every worker, every party unit and every workers council to militate staunchly for the fulfillment of all plan indices, so that the material resources for complete implementation of the plan and the pledges made in socialist competition will be secured everywhere.

In pointing out that all county committees, ministries, industrial centrals, workers' councils and party organizations must plan specific measures in every unit to best fulfill the net output plan for this year, the party secretary general indicated activation of all production capacities as a measure of the



greatest importance in this respect. "Defects and lags in the implementation of investment projects must be remedied rapidly, because any failure to fulfill the investments plan affects not only this year's activity but also that of next year and even that of the next five-year plan," Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, saying that "The investment projects must be a daily concern of our central organs as well as every county committee." These objectives require a more specific and efficient approach to management of construction operations and a regular check of the whole series of tasks, from provision for the documentation, for the manpower for the worksites, and for a rapid pace to punctual or even early activation of the new capacities.

Experience tells us that the best results are obtained when the party units do not look for excuses for nonfulfillment of the investments plan but militate consistently every day for solutions to the problems and for unification of all forces, especially the builders and beneficiaries, in order to expedite the construction rate. It was for this purpose that the Harghita County Party Committee, for example, organized an investments command directly under the first secretary, wherein one collective headed by the first vice chairman of the county people's council meets requirements for supplying the worksites while another collective headed by the secretary for organizational problems recruits and trains the labor force for both the worksites and the new capacities. The command visits every municipal or city party committee at least once a month, examining the situation on the spot and determining measures, individual responsibilities and time limits for eliminating the difficulties and defects and for expediting the operations. By the second day after the command meets, the members begin no other activities until they have specifically organized the effort to carry out the decisions. Although the measure is a recent one, some results have been obtained. Two gravel pits have been opened, and a third one is nearly ready for use. Manufacture of a large number of bricks with local resources has been started, considerably improving the supply of the worksites and especially those for housing.

As required at the conference, the emphasis is to be placed upon granting priority to productive investments in industry, agriculture, transportation, all economic units and housing construction. While exercising effective guidance and control, the party units are expected to interest their forces and to organize the effective and active cooperation of the beneficiaries (workers in the new units and future tenants of the buildings under construction) in the implementation of various projects. Moreover a closer check is needed on the output of equipment, assemblies and subassemblies for the worksites so that they will be dispatched for installation on schedule.

All this requires a more specific and persevering effort on the part of the county, municipal and city party committees, which have a high duty to enlist the best party and state personnel and the specialists in a daily activity in support of the worksites in order to contribute to the solution of the problems, general application of good experience, and prompt elimination of the defects, thus making it possible to complete the extensive and important investment program.

Nicolae Ceausescu's whole speech at the conference strikingly brings out the need of a considerably higher sense of responsibility on the part of all personnel for implementation of the plan in industry, agriculture, construction and transportation. This requirement is based on the fact that irresponsibility and laxity have fostered shortcomings in plan fulfillment, product quality, excessive material outlays, etc.

In pointing out that "The most resolute action must be taken to improve the working methods and approach in the management of all socioeconomic sectors," the party secretary general imparted valuable directives on avoiding a "general" activity and on better organization of the effort to carry out the decisions, with emphasis upon practical, specific aid in solving problems, proper distribution of personnel and activists among the critical sectors, more discipline, order and responsibility on the job, and more active participation of the public organizations and the masses in the correction of any difficulties or defects. All this means that the very organization and performance of the party's work must serve as a living example to all other state, economic and public organs and organizations, and that throughout the party's active work among the masses efficient and highly effective methods must be formed and developed in firm opposition to bureaucracy, red tape and attempts to replace efforts to take immediate and effective steps with paper and all kinds of excuses.

To be sure no one questions the need or importance of certain studies, discussions, and analyses organized in the party organs, especially those made on the spot. But to confine oneself to that and to initiate various actions without checking their effectiveness is to rob the party's work of its essential purport. For this work is primarily characterized by intensive integration in the bustling activity of the socioeconomic units, close ties with the masses, active and direct participation in the solution of problems or, in a word, assignment of the communists to the front lines of the heated battle to implement the RCP Program. Therefore we must always remember the party secretary general's requirement that "We must provide for the best possible operation of the party organs and of our party organizations... Activity in any field must be closely related to its specific tasks..."

The tireless effort to carry out all party and state decisions is the main thrust of the party units' activity. To this end, specific guidance and sound organization of the measures must be closely correlated with a general, sustained and demanding preventive control, exercised not sporadically but at every stage and phase of the process of implementing the recommendations. In consistently promoting advanced methods in their own activity, the party units also want the trade union and UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ units, the workers councils etc. to do the same thing. As it was pointed out at the conference, we must provide for their best possible performance, improved working methods and approach, and greater aggressiveness, as well as more active participation of the masses in the management of all activities. This will enable us to make further progress and to welcome the great events of this year (the 12th Party Congress and the 35th anniversary of the victory of the national armed antifascist and anti-imperialist insurrection) with the best possible results in all fields.

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## ROMANIA

### INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN PARTY MEMBERSHIP, RELIGION

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 79 pp 86-87

[Editorial article: "A Firm Reply to Deviation from Communists' Moral Code"]

[Text] In their lives and activities, regardless of their function or job, tens of thousands of party and state activists distinguish themselves by all that they do and by their entire conduct in society or in their families as true models to be followed by party members and other workers. Every day and every hour we find them in factories, fields or institutions, wherever fruitful work to carry out the RCP Program is in full swing, wherever strong characters are molded, and wherever the standards of the Communists' Ethical [sic] Code prevail. They are all well known, respected for their dedication and moral integrity and emulated by the masses.

Unfortunately there are also some who deviate from the strict standards of their status as activists and place themselves by their very behavior and actions beyond the pale of life and work governed by our party's political, ideological and moral principles, incurring the disapproval and contempt of the collectives in which they work.

Here follow two such cases.

As vice chairman of the Balesti Communal People's Council in Vrancea County, Ion Tudorie thought everything was permitted him. Defying the most elementary standards of socialist morality and being a grafter, he became a regular "man of the church" in the commune. He stood as sponsor at his son's baptism and at one more baptism and two weddings, conducted according to the religious canons and followed by gift banquets. He invited a crowd of people to his son's baptism and profited by more than 10,000 lei. All this was accompanied by a long series of abuses and illegalities on the part of Ion Tudorie.

Upon considering these serious offences, the Executive Committee of the Vrancea County People's Council quite rightly decided to remove Ion Tudorie from the office of vice chairman of the Balesti Communal People's Council.



Equally serious offences were committed by Prof Ion Ciobanu of the school in Bila Village, Schitu Commune, Ilfov County, alternate member of the bureau of the communal party committee, propagandist in political-ideological education and director of the cultural club.

These functions should have induced Ion Ciobanu to adopt an advanced, worthy attitude in his whole life, according to the principles of the Communists' Ethical Code, and to be a living example to the pupils, communists and other residents of the commune. But this was not the case. In violation of the first ideological principles of communists' conduct, on 13 May 1979 he gave a gift wedding party preceded by a religious ceremony. His moral duplicity was completely exposed by the way he proceeded. Knowing full well that he was doing something illicit and compromising to his political and social position in the commune, he did not go to the church but summoned the priest to his house to perform the ceremony. But the cheap stratagem did him no good, because his actions soon acquired public notoriety. Entirely lacking the courage to take responsibility for his own actions, he explained later that he did it all at the insistence of his parents.

Both Ion Tudorie and Ion Ciobanu overlooked a fundamental truth: There is a complete incompatibility of principle between the status of party member or party activist and sharing in mystical convictions and participating in religious observances. For it is quite clear that you cannot lead a double life, being in charge of a commune or educational activity, bringing culture to the masses, and indoctrinating people in firm atheist convictions while at the same time you are subjecting yourself to mystic ritual contrary to the scientific truths which you should, or rather are obligated to disseminate among the residents of the commune by virtue of your very status as an educator or activist.

The fundamental standards governing our party, which are specified in its regulations, program and code of ethics and in which the said persons concurred when they signed the "Solemn Pledge," also include the one whereby you are obligated to master the party's philosophical conception and to resolutely combat idealist theories, mystic prejudices, superstitions and any instances of obscurantism.

The answer to the question, how was it possible for the two above-mentioned activists to violate our party's ideological principles, is to be sought of course in the existing climate of tolerance and indifference and in the absence of any criticism from the other members of the party units in these communities. Reasons such as those given by Dumitru Cusa, Paul Ene and Marin Manaila (members of the Schitu Communal Party Committee), like "We did not know," "We did not find out" etc., do not excuse them. Now that they too have found out what the whole commune knew, we think it is both the time and the occasion for the Bureau of the Schitu Communal Party Committee (as well as the Balesti Communal Party Committee, to which Ion Tudorie belongs) to analyze the situation with a sense of responsibility and to take all necessary steps to firmly establish our party's ethical standards in the lives and activities of all communists in the respective communities.

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## ROMANIA

### MEETING HELD IN VIOLATION OF PARTY STATUTES

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 79 pp 87-88

**[Editorial article: "The Statutory Provisions are Clear and To be Obeyed, Not Violated!"]**

**[Text]** The general assembly of Primary Organisation No 2 of shift B of the reeling and knitting section of the Iasi Moldova Knitwear Enterprise was convened on 14 February 1979. There were not enough members in the hall to hold the assembly (at least 29). Only 28 of the 56 members were present. The bureau of the primary organization decided to hold the assembly anyway.

This was possible because proper preparation of the general assembly was not duly emphasized. It was not only because so many members were absent from the assembly but also because of the way the report to the communists was drafted. This report was nothing but a text copied from a document of the bureau of Primary Organization No 3 of shift C of the same section, in which a few examples had been inserted. But it is curious that a letter to the editors signed by M. Bernacek, chief of the Section for Statutory Problems, Documents and Records of Party Members of the Iasi County Party Committee, said that "... the fact has been confirmed that the assembly of the primary organization was held in violation of the statutes... Discussions with the bureau of the primary organization, with those elected to the presidium and with other party members revealed that the presidium asked the assembly if it could be held and the majority of those present consented on the ground that problems were on the agenda that did not require the adoption of any decisions"!

Are the comrades of the section for statutory problems, records and party documents unaware of the fact that no assembly of the primary organization has the right to violate a statutory provision? It is hard to believe that a section responsible for the strictest observance of the regulations is trying to justify a flagrant violation of the party's standards. According to the rules in force, a general assembly cannot be held unless at least one-half plus one of the total number of party members on the primary organization's records are present.

And the reason given, that the general assembly did not have to adopt decisions, is by no means satisfactory. On the contrary, it is a further indication of how

lightly the general assembly is taken here, if it is acceptable on principle to convene such a forum with nothing to decide.

It is a good thing that the bureau of the primary organization was criticised for holding an illegal assembly and that the case was considered in the plenum of the enterprise party committee, and the proceedings of the Secretariat of the Iasi Municipal Party Committee against the instructor responsible for this party organization should also be mentioned.

At the same time we think the section for statutory problems, documents and records of party members of the county party committee should be given more help to clarify its attitude toward the role and position of the general assembly of the primary organization in party work as a whole, and to understand that the party regulations are binding upon all and can be violated by none.

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## PARTY ORGANS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR CHAOS ON FARM

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 79 pp 88-90

[Editorial article: "With No Control, Chaos and In Discipline are Inevitable"]

[Text] The Timis County Party Committee formed a collective of activists to investigate a letter concerning a number of irregularities and abuses committed by personnel in responsible jobs on the stock farm of the Chisatau CAP [Agricultural Cooperative] in Timis County and the chaos and lack of discipline in this important activity. The reply sent to the editors mentioned that the investigations had revealed discrepancies between the actual number of employees and those on the payroll. It was found that last year the necessary documents for the death and necessary slaughter of 88 calves had been drafted on the farm, but they were not cleared in time for accounting in order to conceal such a sad fact. At the same time serious defects were also revealed in labor organization, livestock maintenance, provision for the fodder base, and production recording.

Naturally the necessary steps were taken concerning the defects that were found. The unit's management, the farm chief and the caretakers responsible for the recorded deaths and necessary slaughter were held responsible for the material loss to the CAP, amounting to more than 26,000 lei. Moreover Constantin Pitaru, president of the CAP, Petru Maghiar, the chief engineer, and Dumitru Enasuti, the chief accountant, were discussed by the party general assembly and "censured" for negligence in management and protection of public property. The farm chief, Valeriu Micu, was "censured with a warning" and a recommendation to discharge him, and the veterinary, Gabriela Marinescu, and the technician, Constantin Darabont, were "reprimanded."

But the highly critical situation on the stock farm of the Chisatau CAP also raises other questions requiring analysis. First are the indifference with which the party organization in the unit and its bureau overlooked the gross violations of labor discipline in the zootechnical sector for long periods, the climate of tolerance and concealment of serious defects, and the insincerity of some technical personnel in keeping production and labor records. Although they had detailed knowledge of the situation in animal husbandry and of the indifference of the technical personnel in this sector, they did not take the prompt, firm and resolute action demanded by their role as political leaders at the production point,

nor did they notify the higher party organs.

Nor do we understand why the bureau of the communal party committee did not take enough interest in the problems in this production sector to be able to determine them at any time and to take steps to resolve them. For what kind of control is it that is no help in detecting obvious defects, damage to public property, or violations of socialist production standards? How does the activist of the county party organ and the member of the bureau of the county party committee who are assigned to this area explain their ignorance of such a critical situation on the stock farm of the Chisatau CAP?

We are sure these aspects will also be considered by the Tixis County Party Committee with the same firmness and resolve that it displayed in examining and weighing the acts committed by the technical personnel on the said stock farm. For it is solely by exhaustive critical analysis and exemplary measures sparing no one that object lessons can be derived for all communists in Chisatau and for all party activists in the county.

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PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE DISCUSSED BY WRITER

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 9 Jun 79 p 88

[Interview by LUCEAFARUL editor with Mihnea Gheorghiu]

[Text] In the content and current language of contemporary politology, the sociology of literature and art and, in general, in European and world journalism dedicated to the social awareness of the end of a century there are new currents and trends--some worthy of interest, others less worthy--which circulate and confront each other at various levels of intellectual life and which, of course, reflect current uncertainties in the economic and social field in some countries and even the traditionally more wealthy and more conservative countries. The circulation of philosophy terms referring to social-political thought also has brought out the existence of a field of discussions at various levels with many causes and effects.

We have asked the writer Mihnea Gheorghiu, whose concerns in this area of activity are well-known, for an unofficial and comradely conversation on this subject, on a theme we have decided to describe as a simple interview "on literature and philosophy." Our editor entered into the subject directly.

[Q] When did you choose Marxist philosophy?

[A] More than four decades ago. Since then scientific socialism has traveled a long, victorious path but, of course, not in a straight line and not simple.

[Q] The economic and social-political situation of Europe and the world today no longer is as included in the analyses of the classics of scientific socialism, in "Das Kapital" and others 100 years ago. Are there reasons for reconsidering some conclusions through some of their premises becoming out-of-date?

[A] Marx' thought is, above all, an historical thought. It would be wrong for us not to see the forest for the trees. We must place ourselves within the "forest" to be able to form an opinion about the exact situation today confronting philosophy and social action.

[Q] Could you present for us, briefly, the situation of current European philosophy outside the sphere of scientific socialism, of course?

[A] European idealistic thought--the French set the tone--evolved from the existentialist generation into the structuralist generation, seeking an obligatory point of passage between "man's isolation" and "the opacity of the world," actually attempting through repeated blows to destroy both the concept of man as well as of history; in this way, through the adversaries of Hegelian-Marxism, one could arrive back at Nietzsche and the mythologies of the spirit.

Phenomenology thus registers a step backward. As a demystifier, Freud returned with a step forward, then came a stagnation through use and abuse, particularly abuse of the American school of philosophy. Now phenomenology is attempting to become rehabilitated through the theory of interpretation, through hermeneutics at the risk of falling into empiricism again. History and anthropology have resumed their course. Exploring the philosophical basics of anthropology in a perfectly relativist manner, C. Levi-Straus, however, denies the material nature of historical acts; according to him, for example, the French revolution is a myth which actually boils down to a multitude of individual views. To all appearances, thus, phenomenology and anthropology, far from coexisting and complementing each other peacefully, pull each "Man" in opposite directions.

In short, at the midpoint of our century, the Western philosophers inaugurated a discussion whose favorite terms were "subject," "practice," and "history" so that, two decades later, they would choose others: "system," "discourse" and "structure," now outdated in turn.

[Q] Is there a new philosophy of science, following the recently celebrated occasion of Einstein's birthday?

[A] The 100th anniversary of Einstein's birth made many philosophers think again. Today, during the third scientific-technical revolution, is there a relevant theory for a "single truth?" A reporter once asked the father of the theory of relativity if he could sum up the theories in two simple sentences for the use of any uninformed reader and Einstein modestly did it, answering:

"1) It was believed that space and time exist without matter. 2) Now we know that neither space nor time would exist without matter."

The historical relationship between matter and spirit was alienated both by bigoted spiritualists as well as by dogmatic materialists. Regarding the latter, Gramsci used to say that "they are concerned with finding a philosophy which would be more comprehensive than a simple interpretation of history from their narrow viewpoint and they believed they were more orthodox, basically identifying it with traditional materialism."

Death prevented Einstein from taking the relationship between the magnetic field and the field of gravity further. If he could have reunited them, Einstein said, perhaps a new theory, one vaster than relativity, would have us include everything that exists in a single glance; we would know the single law of space and time, of matter and the field. That would have been the single truth and then "this secular pillar of rationality which is the strict relationship between cause and effect would have been demolished in a puff of smoke."

[Q] What can you tell us about the stated anti-Marxism of the French "new philosophers?"

[A] All the fuss of the French "new philosophers" (and those of other nationalities) who are making Marxism inwardly guilty of the apocryphal errors and qualities with which it overcame dogmatic and ahistorical simplism (including several of the "universally valid" applications of it theoretically and actually) omits the truth stated even by the founders of scientific socialism that the very historical determination of knowledge has an historical nature.

A product of given social-historical relationships, scientific socialism, despite its visionary structure, could not give an absolute answer or infallible solutions to all the revolutionary transformations and changes which occurred later in the world. Yet, what does the current nature of Marxism consist of? Even by 1848 Marx and Engels were notifying that "the communists' theoretical theses are not based on principles invented or discovered by this or that reformer of the world," being nothing more than "the general expression of the effective conditions of class struggle existing and of the movement taking place before our eyes." Engels informed us that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guiding principle for action, a theory of development, a thesis which, Lenin added, "by forgetting it, makes Marxism become unilateral and we deform it, we transform it into something dead, we snatch away its living soul, we undermine its basic theoretical bases--dialectics and the theory of multilateral historical development which is full of contradictions--and we undermine its link with the specific practical problems of the era, which can change at each turning point of history."

[Q] Have there also been errors, classified as such, by some persons belonging to our ideological front?

[A] Those who have issued or who have committed errors in the name of Marxism taken as the gospel truth are less responsible for their errors than the ones who persevere, after the elite of the ideological front of contemporary socialism, freed from theology, has reconsidered it within its historical limits, limits which do not reduce the cognitive value of the ideas which have crucially changed the direction of the social and political sciences in the last 100 years and which are affirmed by the information accumulated later. And, of course, by a number of achievements, incontestable ones, at the national and international level and in the contemporary sociopolitical universe.



[Q] Can one speak of the inherent historical limits in connection with Marx' and Engels' works, too?

[A] The theoretical work of Marx and Engels proposed to answer some basic questions of the intellectuals and proletariat of the last century by inaugurating a completely new direction in the process of philosophical and scientific knowledge and in social action. Their answers now are well known to us as well as the interpretation of them, including the crisis of certain practices which appeared in the area of these interpretations in a world in movement. I would gladly dwell on one of the answers considered by some to be "erroneous": the socialist revolution will begin in an economically developed and socially-politically advanced country. Historical reality, as we know, has refuted this thesis. Now taking into account the heroic birth pangs of the first socialist society and the contradictions and disfunctionalities of the appearance and growth of others, any lucid analyst of the contemporary era will be able to determine that socialist economic and democracy would have been built with less effort and pain in a country where the economy and bourgeois civilization had reached a material and intellectual maturity which the working class would lead toward a new, humbly better world. The task of the parties, of the workers in the developed countries on the path of socialist revolution, of course, seems easier. As a result, dialectically speaking, Marx was right.

[Q] Absolute truths become relative?

[A] Partially, yes. Because Marx also gave many partial answers to certain problems raised by the ideology of his age (some contemporary Marxists will keep him around Kant, Feuerbach and Hegel; Lenin himself did not want to attack the continuity between Hegel and Marx frontally); so we are left with a number of extremely important concepts unexplained theoretically, important for explaining social determinism in light of Marxism, including that of the social class (Marx says "the struggle of the classes" and not "class struggle") but also that of awareness and culture and others. His actual philosophy has remained outlined in general lines and for that reason subject fatally to some deforming interpretations. Also, I would say, the political-economic analysis he made of capitalism was not of a total nature, that is, including in it the fate of decisive ideologies, from where we also have his optimism about the premature "burying" of it despite the timely corrections made later by Engels and others. But, separating the brilliant "Das Kapital" from the rest of his work, we would repeat Althusser's error in accepting the "epistemological rupture" produced on the theoretical road of Marx' work, since he did not then forecast everything that we discovered later.

[Q] How do you interpret the task of our young researchers faced with the ideological inheritance of socialism? Of course, I am referring also to art criticism and, in general, to the philosophy of culture.

[A] Marx and Engels drew a new and bold path, as did Einstein, but they did not propose, did not claim and were not able to exhaust the directions of social-political thought opened by scientific research of the next century, whose mission—that is, ours, as well—is to come out with new daring and coherent theses



and hypotheses based on the new achievements gained in all the sciences (just as they did in their time) and ones which would lead further, under the new material and spiritual conditions, the inheritance of a century of creation and economic and intellectual progress which also is a century of Romanian social-political thought and of moral progress.

[Q] In this morally reestablished or "renovated" universe, what is the role belonging to art? Does it actually answer the "theory of reflecting" in this specific framework of culture?

[A] The theory of reflecting could not claim more than embracing the space of examples from which any a priori generalization is required. In my opinion, it did not sufficiently work out one of the philosophical data most appropriate for the stimulus ("tendency") to politicize the arts in a universe spiritually politicized to the maximum, such as ours is, and that is the political and revolutionary value of the subjectivity of art. I purposely have taken this term from H. Marcuse's "Aesthetic Dimension" precisely because, being in agreement with him that the autonomy of art bears the categorical demand that "things must change" and that the radical potential of art lies in its ideological nature and its transcendent relationship to the "base" and that ideology is not always purely and simply an ideology and must reassert the fact that the determinist component of Marxist theory does not boil down merely to its concept of the relationship ("direct" or "reflected") between social existence and social awareness because I also understand it as an chance offered to the particular content of individual awareness capable of turning to good account the revolutionary potential of subjectivity. That is, man sanctifies the place. The new moral problem being posed for artistic creation is of knowing not only to what extent it answers the uneasy human being but rather to what extent it succeeds in breaking with the past in an exemplary manner and being of use to the ethical and aesthetic progress of society (which is the dialectical sum of the individuals comprising it). Only the vulgarization of this subtle intellectual process in barracks talk was able to lead to a failure to understand that awareness and the representation of the truths which seem abstract in relationship to the production processes in the end are ideological functions, just as science is recognized today as a production force. I feel that in any work of art, completed aesthetically, the need for revolution is clearly before us as an a priori element of art; this does not exclude but rather includes the artist's obligation for this to be given a theme expressly in one or another of his work of his free choosing.

[Q] Returning to the functions of this moral factor included in our ideology, how is this being applied today internationally to the artist's refusal as a revolutionary--and thus, as a militant of a free society--faced with social and national oppression?

[A] I think the progress of a society without social and national oppression is not and cannot be only of a political-economic nature nor could it fully succeed without its moral-educational and ethical-aesthetic component in the perspective of a new international moral and cultural order which the artist is called on to serve all over the world with the specific means of his creative intelligence. This new ideological concept, which belongs precisely

to the current social-political thought in Romania and the ideological initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu apply exactly to today's world and to all those who are militating for elimination of any oppression of man's liberty and of nations and also is being asserted, in a natural way, from Marx' postulate according to which the working masses "have the duty to penetrate international political secrets, to supervise the diplomatic activity of their governments and in the case where they are not able to prevent this activity, they should unite in order to simultaneously unmask them and do it in such a way that the simple laws of morals and equity, which must regulate relationships between private persons, become supreme laws in the relations between nations."

[Q] As a result, in your opinion, what is the role of the basic values of Romanian literature in the "national-universal" relationship?

[A] The question invites a broader and longer answer in other spheres of the creativity of the Romanian people, areas in which our contemporary literature occupies a necessarily more restricted space. The space specific to the correlative aesthetic categories from which the very concept of novel writing is established. Calling on the relationship between national and universal in our era, I am purposely avoiding restricting it again, now when we agreed at the last world congress of comparative literatures that "universal literature is the vital and dialectical sum of national literatures." I believe with total conviction that there are several authors among our colleagues who are of European and universal value, even if the Nobel prize for literature bypassed us, even if for circumstantial reasons.

In the historical exchange of cultural values at the international level, Romanian literature has given and has received with an open soul everything it considered was best for it and for the rest of the world in the spirit of the person who loves equity and respects liberty in relationship with any of its partners or neighbors, feeling that the absence of liberty and dignity is the greatest evil for any nation and for the citizen of any country.

[Q] Now I could ask: Why did we have this long "prolog" to the answer requested?

[A] That's good because at this moment of our national literature and of the writers in Romania, I feel that the "national-universal relationship" should evade the arena of the spectacular tournament of theories on universalism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism and so forth and that it should return to the grounds of the political realism in which the spiritual heritage of Romanian socialism is established and appears at a point at which we are seeing a joint campaign of calumny directed (also by writers) from outside against our national culture and those who are making it here with their labor, love and talent. For that reason, my answer to your question is that the basic role of the values of current Romanian literature is to become more unified, more offensive and more effective in defending themselves and the prestige of Romania. This stimulus was also delivered at the Neptun meeting of writers with the Romanian president and time reconfirms its current nature.

/Q/ And, then, writers from all countries?

/A/ If the Pen Club and other international literary and artistic organizations could overcome a certain narrow-minded view of the artist's rights and duties in today's world, treating them in a more realistic perspective from a philosophical viewpoint, then "the political value of the subjectivity of art" would only gain and the very profession of the artist would become more noble, overcoming clan arguments and the pressures of groups which today are having disputes internationally about zones of influence. Counting on the political candor of the writers and artists indifferent to the call of real history, the means of communication and of a concerned mass in the service commanded, contribute to the process of alienating the intellectuals, a process also forecast by the classics of scientific socialism. And, so, we return to the point where our conversation began.

8071

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE SETS TERMS OF PAYMENT OF WAGES, ALLOCATIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 62, 18 Jul 79 pp 1, 2

[State Council Decree: "Decree of the State Council Concerning the Terms of Payment for Wages, State Allocations for Children, and Other Monetary Rights Due to Workers, as well as Pensions and Scholarships"]

[Text] Decree of the State Council Concerning the Terms of Payment for Wages, State Allocations for Children, and Other Monetary Rights Due to Workers, as well as Pensions and Scholarships

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees as follows:

Art 1. The issuance of cash for payment of wages, state allocations for children, or other monetary rights due to workers employed in socialist units, as well as for pensions and scholarships will be effected by the banks, only after exercise of banking control, in accordance with the laws in effect.

Payment of the rights listed in the preceeding paragraph will be made within the framework of the terms in this decree on the dates which are established by the banking units, together with the management organs of the units and the organizations which effect the payment, and in consultation with the trade union organs within them.

Art 2. Wages due in accordance with the law to the workers employed on a work contract in socialist units are paid every two weeks as follows:

- at the end of the first two weeks: 50 percent of the scheduled wages;
- at the end of the second two weeks: the remainder of the monthly wages, management bonuses, increases for experience, and other increases for unusual working conditions.



The cash necessary for payment of wages is issued by the banks between the 16th and 30th of the month in progress for the first two weeks and between the 1st and the 15th of the following month for the second two weeks, with the exception of cases in which, in accordance with the law, other time periods are established.

In the construction-assembly units, payment of wages to the workers will be made twice a month on Saturdays only.

In the state agricultural units and intercooperative economic associations, payment of wages to day workers can be made on a weekly basis.

For personnel of joint companies established through cooperation with foreign partners on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, payment of wages can be made on a monthly or weekly basis, at the request of the joint companies.

Bonuses due to apprentice workers for work performed are paid every two weeks, under the conditions of this article.

Art 3. Payment will be made once a month for wages, management bonuses, experience increases, and other increases for unusual working conditions due, in accordance with the law, to workers as follows:

a) to personnel in state institutions who carry on activity in the territory of communes and who are paid from the budgets of communal, city, municipal or county people's councils, between the 1st and the 4th of the month for the month which has expired;

b) to sailing personnel in naval transports, between the 1st and the 30th of the month for the month which has expired;

c) to the personnel in the institutions and organizations listed in the annex to this decree, between the 17th and 27th of the month for the month in progress;

d) to personnel in cult units, including the clergy of religious cults, between the 1st and 15th of the month, for the month which has expired.

Art 4. In the agricultural production cooperatives, payment of wages will be made once a month, between the 1st and the 8th or the 15th to the 25th of the month, for the period which has expired.

Payment of wages due to workers in intercooperative economic associations will be made every two weeks, in accordance with the provisions of Art 2.

Art 5. The following monetary rights may be paid during the month, to the extent that they are requested, regardless of the date established:

- a) sums due from the fund for participation of workers in profits, annual premiums, premiums for special achievements during the year, premiums for savings in materials and work force, as well as other premiums or compensation authorized by law;
- b) sums due in accordance with the law, representing additions or restitutions of reductions applied in the previous periods for non-realization of indicators in positions for which scheduled wages are paid, rights for work performed above the normal work program, as well as other rights deriving from execution of the work contract;
- c) wages paid from the funds for planned wages by actions and activities to personnel who are employed on a permanent basis;
- d) bonuses for vacation leaves and wage rights due up to the time of departure for leave. Payment of these sums will be made at least three working days before the date of departure for leave;
- e) reimbursements and other rights established on the basis of executive decisions, given as verdicts in work litigation cases.

Art 6. Rights due to workers employed under a work contract from funds for social insurance, representing reimbursements for temporary work incapacities, reimbursements for maternity leaves and for caring for sick children, and other such rights due in accordance with the law are paid on the date established for payment of wages, on a two week or monthly basis, just as with the payment of wages.

Art 7. The state allocation for children is paid monthly, together with the wages for the second two week period or together with the monthly wage payment, as applicable.

Art 8. Pensions of all categories are paid once a month, between the 15th and the 25th of the month, for the month in progress.

Art 9. Scholarships due to pupils and students are paid once a month, between the 22nd and 30th, for the month in progress; scholarships due to foreign students are paid between the 22nd and the 30th of the month for the following month.

At the request of the educational units, payment of scholarships and other rights due to pupils and students who have left for practice work or who are on vacation will be made on an anticipatory basis.

Art 10. The issuance of cash and the payment of monetary rights will be made one day in advance when the date established for payment of these rights coincides with a non-working day.

The National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania will reschedule the issuance of cash and the payment of monetary benefits when there are two or more consecutive non-working days in the period prior to these days.

The National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania will also reschedule the issuance of cash and the payment of monetary benefits during the month of February when the dates for such payments are on the 28th, 29th or 30th of a month.

Art 11. For workers in the ministries, the other central and local organs of the state administration, as well as in the state institutions subordinate to these organs, the wage benefits relative to the month of December and the annual premiums are paid on the established dates from the budgetary credits of the year in which the payments are paid. Also paid from the budgetary credits of the year for which the payments are made are the benefits concerning the state allocation for children due for the month of December for workers in state socialist units.

Art 12. This decree is effective 60 days from the date of its publication in the Official Bulletin of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the date of its effectiveness, Council of Ministers Decision No 821/1962 concerning the terms for payment of wages, pensions, scholarships and other monetary rights, which was modified by Council of Ministers Decision No 203/1964, is cancelled.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
Chairman, Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 14 Jul 79  
No 270

EU10  
CSO: 2700

**EXCESSIVE PARTICIPATION OF LC MEMBERS IN SAWPY CRITICIZED**

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 79 p 2

[Editorial by Gojko Marinkovic criticizing inadequate participation of noncommunists in SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia]]

[Text] The SAWPY is being built as, and is, a confirmed framework of our political system. First of all, its presence is becoming increasingly apparent within delegate and self-management mechanisms; by its use within the social base it speeds up the transfer of the decision-making process to delegate and other self-managing bodies, thus contributing to more direct communication between delegates and delegations, and their constituencies.

These observations apply to the last 4-year term, as well as to the present state of this most massive sociopolitical organization. These positive experiences notwithstanding, it is necessary to say that within the activity of the SAWPY certain weaknesses, omissions and flaws are apparent.

Sources of these are remnants of the old consciousness, antiquated habits and understanding, whose consequences are the slow construction of the SAWPY as the Front, and the slow change in the work methods in addition to the predominance of the declarative manner of work. To the above we must add that the essence of sectional labor is not understood.

In the final analysis, all those weaknesses have one common denominator--sectarianism. This is confirmed by statistics from elections for opcina conferences and their delegates to the Republic Conference of the SAWPC (Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia), where more than 90 percent of the elected members also belonged to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). The slow building of the SAWPY into the Front is evident from the fact that only 1.4 percent of all the delegates were farmers, 4.1 percent skilled or highly skilled laborers, and 15 percent of the total consisted of women or those younger than thirty years of age. Thirty-two delegates are secretaries or presidents of opcina conferences. Statistics for opcina conferences themselves are no better.

Perhaps it is encouraging that 73 percent of the Republic Conference members are newly elected, but the fact remains that forums of the SAWPY consist



nearly exclusively of the LCY members. Although to some this fact would appear to be a good development, and it is considered a success in some circles, it actually deserves no praise. The situation is basically no different within labor unions, the Alliance of the Socialist Youth, the fighter organization, local community leaderships, nor even with organs of self-management within labor organizations. And this means nothing less than, as Stane Dolanc once warned, that the LC, i.e., its members, once appear under the name of the LC, the second time in the labor union, the third time as fighters (partisans), then as local community leaders, as worker's councils...

The most common excuse for such behavior is that the communists are the most active, which is objectively correct and no one can deny that, and that it is an expression of trust in the LC, which is also correct. What is forgotten, however, is Tito's often expressed warning that Socialism cannot be built by communists alone. It would be bad for this self-managing, delegate society of ours if only the LC members were to fight for its development. It would be diametrically opposite to our goals and programs. Finally, the everyday practice and our development refute this concept.

When we warn about those weaknesses, it is necessary to remember the times of 35 years ago when the People's Front was being created, and when it was clearly stated that outside of it, there is no democracy, and that it and only it represents the political organization which is the guarantee for the unity of the people, the security of the country, and its happiness and well being.

This organization, as Marijan Cvetkovic, the president of the Republic Conference of SAWPC recently stated, started an enormous creative self-initiative of its citizens in the fight to conquer and remove numerous difficulties faced by the young revolutionary society in the country devastated by war.

By its breadth and constitution, the Front of the National Liberation symbolized the War of the National Liberation and expressed the awareness that the successful conclusion of the war and consequent building of the new society are possible only with the widest participation of the whole people.

Therein lies the reason for the current demand to widen the ranks of the Socialist Alliance. The sectarian concepts have always been detrimental--during the war, before the war, and today. The continuity of our revolution is evident in the fact that the Socialist Alliance is the propagator of traditions established by the People's Front; the experiences from the war and from post-war reconstruction clearly show that this massive political organization must include all the people who are ready and able to fight for the development of the self-managing socialist society, for the politics of nonalignment, and for national equality, brotherhood and unity.

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CSO: 2800

**BUREAUCRATIC OPPORTUNISM IN DECISION-MAKING RIDICULED**

[Editorial Report; for earlier material on this subject see JPRS 73712 TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No 1691, 19 Jun 79 pp 36-38] Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian on 26 May 1979, page 7, sheds light on the decision-making process in Yugoslavia in an article headlined "When Bureaucrats Rule the Roost."

Toward the end of February 1979, the republic-level self-managing interest community for old-age and disability insurance of Serbia had approved a procedure by which ex-draftees could have their military service credited for pension purposes upon payment of a fee. According to OMLADINSKE NOVINE, the stenographic record shows that the presiding officer handled the matter as follows: "You have before you a draft order on extended insurance coverage and the terms for recognizing military service as work standing. I open the floor for discussion. Who wishes the floor? No one. Who is in favor of this order? Thank you. Anyone opposed? No one. The order is unanimously adopted." At least 1,000 persons at lower levels had reviewed the proposal beforehand. There had not been a single objection or suggestion for a change in wording.

A month later, after OMLADINSKE NOVINE of 3 March 1979 had complained about the implications of the procedure, the same self-managing interest community gathered again and arrived at a new decision. The stenographic record speaks again: "You have before you a draft order to rescind the order on extended insurance coverage and the recognition of military service as work standing. I open the floor for discussion. Who wishes the floor? No one. Who is in favor of this order? Thank you. Anyone opposed? No one. The proposal is unanimously adopted."

OMLADINSKE NOVINE blames the debacle on bureaucrats employed by the republic-level interest community and on delegates to basic and regional self-interest communities in the field as well as on delegates to the republic-level interest community. However, the paper broadens its indictment to cover the self-managing interest communities in general, which society had established to "eliminate the state as an intermediary in the gratification of the needs to the working people and citizenry," but which have so "exceeded the confines of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor as

to transform themselves into real 'states within the state.'" The particular interest community in question is said to employ 1,800 persons, whose personal income in 1978 was 14 percent higher than that of the average worker in the economy of Belgrade, and to be participating in the financing of 71 capital projects in Serbia.

CSO: 2800

## SHORTCOMINGS IN ZAGREB PUBLISHING ENTERPRISES NOTED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 79 p 2

[Article by Seada Hocić: "Something Is Happening Among the Publishers"]

[Text] Among unsocialist occurrences and unhealthy relationships within Zagreb publishing industry, were the passivity and opportunism of basic organizations of the LC. Because of that the City Conference of the LC of Zagreb and the Committee of the LC of Opcina Center initiated a sweeping sociopolitical activity, which is already producing results.

While polemics about "The Literary Textbook--From the Cultural Heritage of Serbs in Croatia," and "Grammatical Manual of the Croatian Language" rage in Zagreb, and while the reading public is awaiting the "outcome" of those polemics with great interest, something is happening among Zagreb publishers. The above mentioned polemics are not the cause of this, although the above mentioned books are indicative of the state of the Zagreb publishing industry, an unhealthy climate which has lasted for years with only minor interruptions.

One of those "climatic" interruptions was caused by the action of the LC, which has been going on within Zagreb's publishing houses for the past several months. The purpose of this action is to put in order publishing affairs and at the same time to insure greater public influence on publishing policy. This is a large project even for the City Conference of the LC of Zagreb and for the Committee of the LC of Opcina Center, who are the instigators of this action, whose effects are to be felt by about 30 publishing and printing firms, and about the same number of enterprises to which publishing is a secondary activity. The task is complicated because within those organizations there are numerous problems. In some places, there are cases of excesses, private initiative on publishing policy, monopoly, grouping, and other similar occurrences which are diametrically opposed to the basic principles of our society and to policies of the LCY.

The action which the City Conference of Zagreb commenced in December and which was joined by the Opcina Center Committee of the LC, on whose territory are concentrated almost all of Zagreb's publishing houses, is not a mere reaction



to excesses committed, nor is it the "putting out of the fire," instead it is merely a normal activity to which Communists committed themselves during the Tenth and the Eleventh Congresses of the LCY. We do not state that the conditions in which this action is taking place are normal or understandable, but various excesses committed are merely another confirmation of the fact that a political action in publishing and printing industries was necessary.

I don't wish to say that there was nothing good among Zagreb's publishing houses until now, and that publishing failures and excesses are their basic characteristics. After all, about 1,500 titles in a total of thirty million copies are published in this city annually, with quite a few worthy titles among them. However, public influence on publishing policy is minimal, and in some cases nonexistent. Consulting bodies and editorial committees are often merely "a dead letter on paper," which becomes apparent when one of the publishers comes under public criticism. Often publishers have no consulting bodies, which is hard to forgive in small organizations, let alone in an organization the size of Naprijed, where only now a formation of the consulting committee is expected.

The lack of public influence on publishing policies opens the door to privateering, grouping and nepotism, and widens the channels through which millions of dinars flow into pockets of individuals. A striking example of such activity is the Publishing Company of Matica Hrvatska, which has, according to Public Auditing Service findings, paid the wife of its director 340,000 dinars in author's fees.

It appears that wives were on the pay list of Zagreb Printing Company, too. As an example, one of them, a homemaker, received substantial sums of money for graphic and illustrative arrangement of books. On various jobs with books, different experts are engaged, into whose pockets public money flows. There is very little imagination in those activities. For example, the same basic organization of socialized labor has engaged an editor to "clean up" the self management agreement for a fee of 4,900 dinars. This is not expensive, but it is symptomatic.

There are similar examples in other organizations. However, these are not only problems the publishers have. Publishing and printing companies are having a hard time agreeing about synchronizing their programs or about their investments. An example: several of these organizations concluded that they should not invest on an individual basis, but should instead unite on the basis of common programs. The dust had hardly settled when Ognjen Prica, Graphic Company of Croatia, Skolska Knjiga, Stvarnost, and Naprijed, decided to back out of the agreement.

#### The Creation of a New Climate

Unhealthy conditions prevalent in publishing houses were caused by opportunism and passivity of basic organizations of the LC. This is the reason that the criticism of the Presidium of the City Conference of the LC of Zagreb was directed at communists within those organizations. For the same reason, the

political action taken by the Opcina Committee Center was also directed at basic organizations of the LC. However, the action, along with conclusions reached by the CCLCC Zagreb, was not everywhere received with equal enthusiasm. The opcina committee has received some responses in which it was insisted that there were no excesses within the basic organizations concerned, which is in itself a proof that the very essence of the action was not understood. The reason for this action, after all, was to break up opportunism, and to mobilize basic organizations of the LC in order to exert their influence within the life of a collective, and for communists to start working on real problems.

However, such a reception could not stop the action, especially since problems had grown to an extent where they became painfully obvious. Slowly and with difficulty, the situation is beginning to clear up. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of hours of meetings were necessary to identify primary problems, to break up opportunism of the LC members, and to mobilize communists to carry out the principles that have been agreed upon.

Even today the battle has not been won everywhere. In Prosvjeta, for example, a basic organization of socialized labor has not been set up yet, although at its own instigation, the enterprise received an approval from the opcina committee to form one more than a year ago.

However, in numerous organizations the conditions have changed. A new climate has been created. For example, in the Graphic Company of Croatia the action of the LC has resulted in conditions more favorable to public influence on publishing policy, new wage distribution, self-managing transformation of the collective, and personnel changes--all of which was necessary, and the only possible way out.

The political action is also showing some good results in Mladost, Skolska Knjiga, Naprijed, and a few other enterprises, although some problems still exist. However, the most important fact is that some action has been taken. The first, and a very important page of the book about Zagreb publishers has been turned. Therefore this first page, these first positive results, justify the political action that was taken.

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CSO: 2800

## BRIEFS

KOSOVO PRISON CONSTRUCTION--The penal-correctional institution in Istok will be built in two stages; the first [to begin shortly] will complete two-thirds of the capacities from the investment program by 1 September 1981, and involve an investment of 460,000 dinars. The completion of the facility will require 690 million dinars. The technical-investment documentation for the main facility is in the final stage. Preparatory work is being made on beginning construction, and a building of the Pec District Prison in Djurakovac is capable of being adapted to house persons engaged in building the penal institution. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Jul 79 p 7]

WEAKNESSES IN ISTOK OPSTINA--At a 20 July meeting in Istok with Ali Sukrija, member of the LCY Central Committee, and Petar Kostic, secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, it was said that good work had been often accompanied by difficulties, arising from old relations. The LC in this opstina is engaged in eliminating such weaknesses and there have been some results. In those areas where resistance has been great party measures have also been taken against individuals, while the self-management organs in the public health center have been dissolved. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Jul 79 p 5]

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